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NO. 3.

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CONTAINING:

The Constitutional Amendment—Vote on the Same in the Senate and House of Representatives—The Admission of Tennessee—Gov. Brownlow's Statement—HISTORY OF THE NEW ORLEANS MASSACRE—Gen'l Sheridan's Dispatches Concerning the Same—Andrew Johnson's Speech at Cleveland—Address of the Southern Loyalists' Convention—Resolutions of the Springfield Post of the Grand Army of the Republic, on Andrew Johnson—President Johnson's Record Prior to the Assembling of the 39th Congress—Extracts from his Speeches and Letters—President Lincoln's Letters to Governor Hahn and Gen. Wadsworth in Favor of Impartial Suffrage.

The Congressional Plan of Reconstruction.

The following is the amendment of the Constitution proposed by Congress to the Legislatures of the several States, as the basis of Reconstruction:

"Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

"*Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled*, (two-thirds of both Houses concurring.) That the following article be proposed to the Legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of said Legislatures, shall be valid as part of the Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE 14.

"SECTION 1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

"SEC. 2. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a State, or the members of the legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

"SEC. 3. No person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or elector of President or Vice President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath, as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State Legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may, by a vote of two-thirds of each House, remove such disability.

"SEC. 4. The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations and claims shall be held illegal and void.

"SEC. 5. The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article."

Vote on the Amendment.

The Amendment passed the Senate, June 8th, and the House June 13th, 1866, by the following vote:

SENATE.

Yeas—Messrs. Anthony, Chandler, Clark, Conness, Cragin, Cresswell, Edmunds, Foster, Fessenden, Grimes, Harris, Henderson, Howard, Howe, Kirkwood, Lane of Kansas, Lane of Indiana, Morgan, Morrill, Nye, Poland, Pomeroy, Ramsey, Sherman, Sprague, Stewart, Sumner, Trumbull, Wade, Willey, Williams, Wilson, Yates—33.

Nays—Messrs. Cowan, Doolittle, *Davis*, *Guthrie*, *Hendricks*, *Johnson*, *McDougall*, Norton, *Riddle*, *Saulsbury*, Van Winkle—11.

Absent—Messrs. Brown, *Buckalew*, Dixon, *Nesmith*, *Wright*—5.

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HOUSE.

Yeas—Messrs. Alley, Allison, Ames, Anderson, Delos R. Ashley, James M. Ashley, Baker, Baldwin, Banks, Barker, Baxter, Beaman, Benjamin, Bidwell, Bingham, Blaine, Blow, Boutwell, Brandegee, Bromwell, Broomall, Buckland, Bundy, Reader W. Clarke, Sidney Clarke, Cobb, Conkling, Cook, Cullom, Darling, Davis, Dawes, Defrees, Delano, Deming, Dixon, Dodge, Donnelly, Driggs, Dumont, Eckley, Eggleston, Eliot, Farnsworth, Farquhar, Ferry, Garfield, Grinnell, Griswold, Hale, Abner C. Harding, Hart, Hayes, Henderson, Higby, Holmes, Hooper, Hotchkiss, Asahel W. Hubbard, Chester D. Hubbard, Demas Hubbard, jr., John H. Hubbard, James R. Hubbell, Hulburd, Ingersoll, Jenckes, Julian, Kasson, Kelley, Kelso, Ketcham, Kuykendall, Lafflin, Latham, George V. Lawrence, William Lawrence, Loan, Longyear, Lynch, Marston, Marvin, McClurg, McKee, McRuer, Mercur, Miller, Moorhead, Morrill, Morris, Moulton, Myers, Newell, O'Neill, Orth, Paine, Patterson, Perham, Phelps, Pike, Plants, Pomeroy, Price, William H. Randall, Raymond, Alexander H. Rice, John H Rice, Rollins, Sawyer, Schenck, Scofield, Shellabarger, Sloan, Smith, Spalding, Stevens, Stillwell, Thayer, Francis Thomas, John L. Thomas, Trowbridge, Upson, Van Aernam, Burt Van Horn, Robert T. Van Horn, Ward, Warner, Elihu B. Washburne, Henry D. Washburn, William B. Washburn, Welker, Wentworth, Whaley, Williams, James F. Wilson, Stephen F. Wilson, Windom, Woodbridge, the Speaker—138.

Nays—Messrs. *Ancona*, *Bergen*, *Boyer*, *Chanler*, *Coffroth*, *Dawson*, *Denison*, *Eldridge*, *Finck*, *Glossbrenner*, *Grider*, *Aaron Harding*, *Hogan*, *Edwin N. Hubbell*, *James M. Humphrey*, *Johnson*, *Kerr*, *LeBlond*, *Marshall*, *McCullough*, *Niblack*, *Nicholson*, *Radford*, *Samuel J. Randall*, *Ritter*, *Rogers*, *Ross*, *Shanklin*, *Sitgreaves*, *Strouse*, *Taber*, *Taylor*, *Thornton*, *Trimble*, *Winfield*, *Wright*—36.

Not Voting—Messrs. Culver, *Goodyear*, *Harris*, Hill, James Humphrey, *Jones*, McIndoe, *Noell*, Rousseau, Starr—10.

Republicans in roman; Democrats in *italic*.

The Admission of Tennessee—Governor Brownlow's Statement.

Tennessee having ratified the Constitutional Amendment, her Senators and Representatives were immediately admitted to seats in the respective houses of Congress. President Johnson used his utmost endeavors to prevent the ratification by the Tennessee Legislature. The following is Governor Brownlow's statement of the means employed to secure its defeat in that body:

"It is known that I recently convened the General Assembly in extraordinary session to ratify the amendment to the Constitution of the United States proposed by the joint resolution of the two houses of Congress, more than two-thirds of both houses concurring. W. H. Seward, Secretary of State of the United States, transmitted an attest copy of the proposed amendment to me, under date of June 16th, and notified me officially that a decision by the Legislature was required by law. I accordingly convened the Legislature by proclamation on the 4th of July, and after a stormy session of twenty-one days the amendment was ratified in both houses, by more than a two-thirds vote. And this victory was achieved over the combined opposition to the measure of the President and half of the Tennessee Congressmen, who brought their influence to bear upon the General Assembly.

"Upon the assembling of the General Assembly, Mr. Dunnaway, the immediate representative of Edmond Cooper, bolted with a view of reducing the House below a quorum. He was followed by Mr. Brown, one of the constituents of Mr. Leftwich, and he was followed by Dr. Marable, the instrument of Dorsey B. Thomas. The House appointed Captain Heydt, Superintendent of the Capitol, Sergeant-at-Arms, with authority to select his deputies, to arrest the bolters and return them to the House, and with the warrants of the Speaker they set out by twos. Williams, of Carter, was brought in, but Marable's rebel friends resisted with guns and pistols and drove the two deputies back. Captain Heydt made application to General Thomas for a file of soldiers—the General referred the case to Washington, and the President, who is on the side of the bolters, and in favor of breaking up the Legislature, as a means of defeating the Constitutional Amendments, instructed General Thomas, through the War Department, not to interfere, but to let the State Government and the politicians fight it out. This encouraged the rebels and stimulated them to acts of violence. They sued out a writ of *habeas corpus* in the case of Williams, and Judges Brien and Gaut, of the Johnson Club, of the Executive Committee of Davidson County, argued their cause before Judge Frazier of the Criminal Court. The Judge being a weak man, and a political partisan under rebel influence, decided against the Legislature and in favor of the rebels. Among all truly loyal men nothing but contempt is entertained for his decision and the man. Having no jurisdiction in the case, and the law and precedents being against him, it was not expected that such a monstrous decision would be given. But those who knew the man—those who knew that he was appointed to office by Military Governor Johnson—that he was laboring to have himself re-elected by the people in a rebel community—and that he would never take a decided stand when the rebellion came on, were prepared to hear his miserable opinion delivered.

"But to proceed with my account of this rebel-judicial farce: the Sheriff, a rebel captain, by the order of the new-born rebel Judge, released Williams from the custody in which he was held by the House, and before day-light in the morning, the Sheriff, with a force of twenty-five discharged rebel soldiers, as it is alleged they were, broke into the State House to seize and carry before the Judge, Captain Heydt, who roomed alone in the capitol. This rebel mob of Frazier's forced the door and window of the Federal Court room, breaking both, and, with cocked revolvers, carried off the Sergeant-at-Arms, whom the Judge fined *ten dollars* for obeying the orders of the House,

and then released him. This action for outrage, corruption and high-handed villany, has no parallel in history. This eagerness to get at Heydt, and to have him resist, as an excuse for murdering him, grew out of the fact that he had served as a brave officer in the Federal army, and was several times wounded in battle, fighting traitors. Captain Heydt had in custody a second member of the House, Mr. Martin, who had been a guerrilla chief in the late war, and he was released without any other process than that served by the *mob*, in breaking down the window and door. This is a part and parcel of Johnson's policy to restore the rebels to power. It means to crush out the Union men of the South, and restore the Democratic traitors of the South to power and place. It is intended by him and his advisers to make TREASON respectable, and TRAITORS honorable, while LOYALTY is to become disreputable, and loyal men are disgraced and driven from the South. To accomplish all this, and even more, there is on foot a regular conspiracy, and the chief conspirator is *Andrew Johnson*, as I honestly believe."

The New Orleans Massacre.

Early in 1864, General Banks, then commanding the Department of the Gulf, at the request and solicitation of President Lincoln, undertook the task of organizing a loyal State Government, with a view of restoring Louisiana to the Union. His first step was to call an election of State officers, and this election took place on the 22d day of February, 1864. About thirteen thousand votes were cast, and Michael Hahn was chosen Governor, J. Madison Wells (the present Governor) Lieutenant Governor, and A. P. Dostie State Auditor. Governor Hahn was inaugurated, and all the State officers sworn in, the fourth of March, and soon afterwards General Banks issued a proclamation ordering an election for members of a Convention to amend and revise the Constitution of the State of Louisiana. In response to this proclamation nearly a hundred delegates, representing about two-thirds of the State, were elected and assembled in the city of New Orleans on the 6th day of April, 1864. Judge E. H. Durell, of the United States District Court, was chosen President of the Convention. A Constitution was formed, and the first article declared that slavery was forever abolished, and that the Legislature should never recognize the right of property in man. This was of itself sufficient to ensure the deep and relentless animosity of every rebel in the State; and the members of the Convention, especially those who were natives or old residents of Louisiana, were marked out for vengeance when the rebel soldiers should return to their homes. The Convention closed its labors on the 25th of July, and by the ordinance the Constitution was submitted to the people early in the next September. The Constitution was ratified by a vote of about ten thousand, the rebels and Copperheads keeping away from the polls. At the same time there was an election of Representatives to Congress and of members of the Legislature, and that body met in the succeeding month of October, so that the complete machinery of a State Government, save the Judiciary, was put into full operation. In February, 1865, Governor Hahn resigned, and the Lieutenant Governor, Wells, became Governor in his stead. Governor Wells was no sooner installed in his new office than he began to yield to the blandishments of the rebel majority, and to turn Union men out of office, and put Confederate soldiers in their places. He continued this course until the secessionists became strong enough, as they thought, to put him out of office and to fill his place with one of their own number, for which purpose, during the last session of the Louisiana Legislature, they set about impeaching him. Governor Wells then cut loose from them, and again sought refuge within the Union lines, as he had done at the beginning of the war. The rebels re-elected John T. Monroe Mayor of New Orleans, the same person who filled the office when Admiral Farragut sailed his victorious fleet up to the city in 1862. Monroe was unable to take the office when elected, as he had not been pardoned. As soon as this obstacle was made known to Andrew Johnson the pardon was issued. He (Monroe) then proceeded to fill the police with the most desperate villains he could find, many of them, as General Sheridan declares, being known murderers. A reign of terror was speedily inaugurated. Threats of vengeance were hurled daily and almost hourly at the heads of the Union men of the city and State. It became necessary for the latter to take some measures for self-defence, or to go into exile. The Convention of 1864, when it adjourned, did not adjourn *sine die*, but subject to the call of its President, and it was determined by the Union men to take advantage of the fact, and have the Convention again called together. The Governor favored the call for the Convention to re-assemble, and a caucus of members was held to take the necessary steps. Judge Durell, who was President of the Convention, refused to call it together, saying that if it were called the Governor would betray it. The caucus therefore elected Judge Howell, a Judge of the Supreme Court of Louisiana, as President *pro tem.*, and Judge Howell issued a proclamation calling the Convention together in New Orleans, on the 5th Monday of July. The Convention met on the 27th of July. The rebel Lieutenant Governor Voorhees, and the rebel Attorney General Herron telegraphed to President Johnson that it was proposed to arrest the members and bring them before the Criminal Court, and inquired: "Is the military to interfere with the court?"—to which the President replied: "The military is expected to sustain and not obstruct or interfere with the proceedings of the court." General Sheridan being absent from the city, the command of the United States forces devolved on Major General Baird. This officer telegraphed to the War Department that he could not permit the arrest of delegates "*without instructions to that effect from the President.*" On the 30th a rebel mob, headed by the police, attacked the Convention, and a frightful mas-

sacre ensued. Over one hundred persons were killed outright, and a large number wounded. Among the killed were Dr. A. P. Dostie and the Rev. Mr. Horton, of Massachusetts. Ex-Governor Hahn was wounded. While the massacre was going on, the President sent a despatch to the rebel Attorney General Herron putting the military force of the United States under his orders for the express purpose of "suppressing the unlawful assemblage," as he called it, to which Herron replied the same day that General Baird had complied with the order. Thus Andrew Jonnson, by his official orders incited and sustained the massacre of a hundred Union men, who had been guilty of no crime but that of assembling together to take measures to defend themselves against rebel tyranny and violence. The murder of these men was perpetrated under circumstances of the greatest atrocity. They were fired upon in their seats and while coming out of the doors. They were shot down in the street, and wounded men were stabbed and beaten to death in the wagons while they were being conveyed to the hospital.

General Sheridan's Despatches.

Major General Sheridan returned to New Orleans on the first of August and immediately sent a despatch to General Grant, characterizing the affair as a wanton murder on the part of the Mayor and police. This dispatch was sent to the President, and by him mutilated and then sent to the agent of the Associated Press in Washington. The dispatch is as follows, the portion in *italics* having been stricken out by the President:

"NEW ORLEANS, August 1.

"U. S. Grant:

"GENERAL—You are doubtless aware of the serious riot which occurred in this city on the 30th. A political body, styling itself the Convention of 1864, met on the 30th, for, it is alleged, the purpose of remodeling the present Constitution of the State. The leaders were political agitators and revolutionary men, and the action of the Convention was liable to produce breaches of the public peace. I had made up my mind to arrest the head men, if the proceedings of the Convention were calculated to disturb the tranquility of the Department, but I had no cause for action until they committed the overt act. *In the meantime, official duty called me to Texas, and the Mayor of the city, during my absence, suppressed the Convention by the use of their police force, and in doing so attacked the members of the Convention and a party of two hundred negroes, and with fire-arms, clubs and knives, in a manner so unnecessary and atrocious as to compel me to say that it was murder.* About forty whites and blacks were *thus* killed, and about one hundred and sixty wounded. Everything is now quiet, but I deem it best to maintain a military supremacy in the city for a few days, until the affair is fully investigated. I believe the sentiment of the general community is great regret at this unnecessary cruelty, and that the police could have made any arrest they saw fit without sacrificing lives. P. H. SHERIDAN,

"Major General Commanding."

No other despatches from General Sheridan were furnished for publication until the 24th of August, when, as it is reported, the hero of the Shenandoah and Five Forks threatened to resign if he were thus compelled to bear false witness concerning the horrid transaction. Thereupon the whole correspondence was published. It is as follows:

THE REBEL LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR AND ATTORNEY GENERAL TO ANDREW JOHNSON.

"NEW ORLEANS, Louisiana, July 27th, 1866.

"His Excellency, President Johnson:

"SIR: Governor Wells has, in compliance with the proclamation of R. K. Howell, President, *pro tem.*, signed writs of election to fill vacancies in the Convention, and forwarded the same to the office of the Secretary of State.

(Signed) "ALBERT VOORHEES,
"Lieutenant Governor of Louisiana.
"ANDREW J. HERRON,
"Attorney General of Louisiana."

SAME TO SAME.

"NEW ORLEANS, July 29th, 1866.

"To President Johnson:

"A Radical mass meeting, composed mainly of negroes, was held last night, ending in a riot. The Committee of Arrangements of said meeting are assembling tonight. Violent and incendiary speeches are being made. The negroes are called upon to arm themselves. You are bitterly denounced. The speakers are Field, Dostie, Hawkins, Henderson, Heir, Ward and others. Governor Wells arrived last night, but sides with the Convention. We would place the whole matter before the Grand Jury, but it is impossible to execute the civil process without the certainty of a riot.

"It is contemplated to have the members of the Convention arrested under process from the Criminal Court of this District. Is the military to interfere with the process of the Court?

"A. VOORHEES, Lieutenant Governor, La.
"A. J. HERRON, Attorney General, La."

ANDREW JOHNSON TO THE REBEL LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR.

"EXECUTIVE MANSION,
"WASHINGTON, July 28, 1866.

"To Albert Voorhees, Lieutenant Governor of Louisiana, New Orleans:

"The military will be expected to sustain and not to obstruct or interfere with the proceedings of the Court. A despatch on the subject of the Convention was sent to Governor Wells this morning.

"ANDREW JOHNSON."

ANDREW JOHNSON TO GOVERNOR WELLS.

"EXECUTIVE OFFICE,
"WASHINGTON, July 28, 1866.

"To Governor Wells, New Orleans:

"I have been advised that you have issued a proclamation convening the Convention elected in 1864.

"Please inform me under and by what authority this has been done, and by what authority this Convention can assume to represent the whole people of the State of Louisiana. ANDREW JOHNSON."

GOVERNOR WELLS TO ANDREW JOHNSON.

"NEW ORLEANS, July 28, 1866.

"To President Johnson:

"Your telegram is received. I have not issued a proclamation convening the Convention of 1864. This was done by the President of that body, by virtue of a resolution

adjourning the Convention subject to his order, and in that case also authorizing him to call on the proper officers to issue writs of election in unrepresented parishes.

"My proclamation is in response to that call, ordering an election on the 3d of September. As soon as the vacancies can be ascertained, an election will be held to fill them, when the entire State will be represented. Your obedient servant,

(Signed) "J. MADISON WELLS,
"Governor of Louisana."

GENERAL BAIRD TO THE SECRETARY OF WAR.

"Hon. E. M. Stanton, Secretary of War, Washington:

"A Convention has been called, with the sanction of Governor Wells, to meet here on Monday.

"The Lieutenant Governor and city authorities think it unlawful, and propose to break it up by arresting the delegates. I have given no orders on the subject, but have warned the parties that I could not permit such action without instructions to that effect from the President. Please instruct me at once by telegraph. A. BAIRD,
"Brevet Major General."

THE REBEL ATTORNEY GENERAL TO ANDREW JOHNSON.

NEW ORLEANS, July 30.

"To the President, Washington:

"We are in the midst of a terrible riot, caused by the assembling of the Convention. Owing to the mixed condition of affairs among the State officers I see no hope of quiet without you give us a Military Governor. Cannot General Granger act?

"A. J. HERRON,
"Attorney General."

ANDREW JOHNSON TO THE REBEL ATTORNEY GENERAL.

"EXECUTIVE MANSION,
"WASHINGTON, July 30, 1866.

"A. J. Herron, Attorney General, New Orleans:

"You will call on General Sheridan, or the officer in command, for a sufficient force to sustain the civil authority in suppressing all illegal or unlawful assemblies who usurp or assume to exercise any power or authority from the people of the State. If there be a Convention, let it be composed of delegates chosen fresh from the people of the whole State. The people must be first consulted in regard to changing the organic law of the State. Usurpation will not be tolerated. The law and Constitution must be sustained, and thereby peace and order.

"A. JOHNSON."

THE REBEL LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR TO ANDREW JOHNSON.

"NEW ORLEANS, July 30.

"To President Johnson:

"The Convention met. A riot has broken out in the city. So far, the police has the upper hand. Several white and colored persons are killed. Called on General Baird for assistance, which is cheerfully tendered. Intense excitement.

"ALBERT VOORHEES,
"Lieutenant Governor, La."

GENERAL BAIRD TO THE SECRETARY OF WAR.

"NEW ORLEANS, July 30—9 p. m.

"To the Secretary of War:

"A serious riot has occurred here to-day. I have been in full consultation with the city authorities, and have kept my troops well in hand for such an emergency. The riot commenced unexpectedly, and before the troops could reach the scene of action a number of persons were killed and wounded.

"I have felt compelled to declare martial law, and have appointed a Military Governor of the city. All is quiet now. Several prominent gentlemen connected with the Convention are killed or wounded.

"A. BAIRD, Brevet Major General."

SAME TO SAME.

"NEW ORLEANS, July 30.

"E. M. Stanton:

"SIR: I have the honor to inform you that a very serious riot has occurred here to-day. I had not been applied to by the Convention for protection, but the Lieutenant Governor and Mayor had freely consulted with me, and I was so fully convinced that it was so strongly the intent of the city authorities to preserve the peace, in order to prevent military interference that I did not regard an outbreak as a thing to be apprehended. The Lieutenant Governor assured me that even if a writ of arrest was issued by the court the Sheriff would not attempt to serve it without my permission, and for to-day they designed to suspend it. I ordered a steamer to be at Jackson Barracks, three miles below the city, at an early hour in the morning, and a tug to be ready to bear orders to the commanding officer of the First Infantry, stationed at that point. At 11:30 p. m., Lieutenant Governor Voorhees came to see me, and after conversation, he feeling confident at the time of the ability of the police to preserve order, I proposed to bring to the city four companies an hour in advance of the supposed meeting of the Convention, at six o'clock p. m., to be kept near by in case they should be required to keep clear the streets in the vicinity of the hall in which the Convention was to meet. He agreed with me that it would be very desireable, but left, not apprehending the difficulty.

"At twelve o'clock I drove to see Judge Howell, President of the Convention, to request that arrangements might be made to keep any crowd that might assemble to protect the Convention out of the streets, so as to avoid an accidental collision. When I reached his house I learned that the Convention was to meet at twelve o'clock, and that he had gone to it.

"Returning to my headquarters, I soon received a letter from the Lieutenant Governor, informing me that large parties of negroes were collecting from all quarters, and coming into the centre of the city, yet he was not sure of his information. However, I at once sent for the troops. Very soon afterwards I learned that a riot had taken place near the Convention hall, and I sent a staff officer to investigate the facts. On his return he reported having met Judge Howell, who said the Convention had adjourned for want of a quorum, but would meet again at 1:30 p. m. This reassured me, but I again sent to hasten the arrival of the troops.

"Immediately after this the riot assumed a serious character; the police, aided by citizens, became the assailants, and from the evidence, I am forced to believe, exercised

great brutality in making their arrests. Finally, they attacked the Convention hall, and a protracted struggle ensued. The people inside the hall gave up. Some, who surrendered, were attacked afterwards, and brutally treated. Quite a large number were injured—I cannot now say how many—Governor Hahn, Dr. Dostie, Mr. Fish, and perhaps other members of the Convention, among the number.

"On the arrival of the troops, I soon cleared the streets, and order was restored.

"From the evidence of the bad feelings of the citizens and of sympathy with them by the police, I felt compelled to declare martial law and appoint a Military Governor, from which I hope good results will ensue.

"I enclose herewith copies of my correspondence with the Mayor, and a despatch which the Lieutenant Governor claims to have received from the President.

"I regret that no reply to my despatch to you of Saturday has yet reached me. General Sheridan is still absent in Texas.

"I remain, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant, A. BAIRD,

"Brevet Major General."

[The next despatch is that from General Sheridan to General Grant, which was mutilated by the President, already given.]

GENERAL SHERIDAN TO GENERAL GRANT.

"NEW ORLEANS, August 3. 1866.

"GENERAL—The more information I obtain of the affair in this city, the more revolting it becomes. It was no riot; it was an absolute massacre by the police, which was not exceeded in its murderous cruelty by that of Fort Pillow. It was a murder which the Mayor and police of the city perpetrated without a shadow of necessity. Furthermore, I believe it was premeditated and prearranged.

"I recommend the removing of this bad man. I believe it would be hailed with the sincerest gratification by two-thirds of the population of the city. There has been a feeling of insecurity on the part of the people here on account of this man, which is now so much increased that the safety of life and property does not rest with the civil authority, but with the military.

"P. H. SHERIDAN.

"Major General Comm andin."

SAME TO SAME.

"NEW ORLEANS, La., August 3.

"U. S. Grant:

"GENERAL—I have the honor to report everything quiet in the city, but considerable excitement in the public mind.

"There is no interference on the part of the military with the civil Government, which performs all its duties without hindrance. I have permitted the retention of the Military Governor appointed during my absence, as it gives confidence, and enables the military to know what is occurring in the city. He does not interfere with city matters. Unless good judgment is exercised, there will be an exodus of Northern capitalists and Union men, which will be injurious to the city and whole country.

"I will remove the Military Governor in a day or two. I again advise that some disposition be made to change the Mayor, as it would tend more to restore confidence than anything that could be done. If the present Governor could be changed also, it would not be amiss. P. H. SHERIDAN,

"Major General Commanding."

GENERAL GRANT TO GENERAL SHERIDAN.

"WASHINGTON, August 3.

"Major General Sheridan, New Orleans:

"Continue to enforce martial law so far as it may be necessary to preserve the peace, and do not allow any of the civil authorities to act, if you deem such action dangerous to the public safety.

"Lose no time in investigating and reporting the cause that led to the riot, and the facts which occurred. U. S. GRANT.

"General."

ANDREW JOHNSON TO GENERAL SHERIDAN.

"WASHINGTON, August 4.

"Major General Sheridan, Commanding New Orleans:

"We have been apprised here that prior to the assembling of the illegal and unauthorized Convention elected in 1864, inflammatory, insurrectionary speeches were made to a mob composed of white and colored persons, urging on them to arm and equip themselves for protecting and sustaining the Convention in its illegal and unauthorized proceedings, calculated to upturn and supersede the State Government of Louisiana, which had been recognized by the Government of the United States. Further, did the mob assemble, and was it raised for the purpose of assisting the Convention in its usurpation? Have any arms been taken from persons since the 30th ult., who were supposed or known to be connected with this mob? Have various individuals been shot and killed by this mob without good cause, and in violation of the public peace and good order? Was not the assembling f this Convention and the gathering of the mob for protection the main cause of the riotous and unlawful proceedings of the civil authorities of New Orleans? Have steps been taken by the civil authorities to arrest and try all those who were engaged in this riot, and those who have committed offences in violation of law? Can ample justice be meted out by the city authorities to all offenders against the law? Will the General please furnish me a brief reply to the above enquiries, with such other information as he may be in possession of by telegraph. Answer at your earliest convenience. ANDREW JOHNSON."

GENERAL SHERIDAN TO ANDREW JOHNSON.

"NEW ORLEANS, La., August 6—12 M.

"His Excellency, Andrew Johnson, President of the United States:

"I have the honor to make the following reply to your despatch of August 4: A very large number of the colored people marched in procession on Friday night, July 27, and was addressed from the steps of the City Hall by Dr. Dostie, ex-Governor Hahn and others. The speeches of the others so far as I can learn, were characterized by moderation. I have not given you the words of Dostie's speech, as the version published was denied, but from what I have learned of the man, I believe they were intemperate.

"The Convention assembled at 12 o'clock on the 27th, the timid members absenting

themselves, because the tone of the public was ominous of trouble. I think there were about twenty-six members present in front of the Mechanics' Institute; where the meeting was held there were assembled some colored men, women and children—perhaps eighteen or twenty, and in the Institute a number of colored men, probably fifty. Among those outside and inside there might have been a pistol in the possession of every tenth man.

"About 1 p. m., a procession of say from fifty to one hundred and thirty colored men marched up Burgundy street and across Canal street toward the Convention, carrying the American flag. These men had about one pistol to every ten men, and canes and clubs in addition. While crossing Canal street a row occurred. There were many spectators on the streets, and their manner and tone toward the procession was unfriendly. A shot was fired, by whom I am not able to state, but believe it to have been by a policeman, or some colored man in the procession. On their arrival at the front of the Institute, there was some throwing of brickbats by both sides. The police who had been held well in hand were vigorously marched to the scene of disorder. The procession then entered the Institute with the flag, about six or eight remaining outside. A row occurred between a policeman and one of these colored men, and a shot was again fired by one of the parties, which led to a indiscriminate fire on the building through the windows, by the policemen. This had been going on for a short time, when a white flag was displayed from the windows of the Institute, whereupon the firing ceased, and the police rushed into the building.

"The immediate cause of this terrible affair was the assemblage of this Convention. The real cause was the bitter antagonistic feeling which has been growing in the community since the advent of the present Mayor, who, in the organization of the police force, selected many desperate men, and some of them known murderers. People of clear views were overawed by want of confidence in the Mayor and fear of the "Thugs," many of which he had selected for his police force. I have been frequently spoken to by prominent citizens on this subject, and have heard them express fear and want of confidence in Mayor Monroe ever since the intimation of this last Convention movement.

"From the testimony of wounded men, and others who were inside the building, the police opened an indiscriminate fire upon the audience until they had emptied their revolvers, when they retired, and those inside barricaded the doors. The door was broken, and the firing again commenced when many of the colored and white people escaped through the door, or were passed out by the policemen inside, but as they came out the policemen, who formed a circle nearest the building, fired upon them, and they were again fired upon by the citizens that formed the outer circle. Many of these were wounded and taken prisoners, and those not wounded were fired upon by their captors and by citizens. The wounded were stabbed while lying on the ground, and their hands beaten with brickbats. In the yard of the building, whither some of the colored men had escaped and partially secreted themselves, they were fired upon and killed or wounded by policemen. Some men were killed and wounded several squares from the scene. Members of the convention were wounded by the policemen while in their hands as prisoners, some of them mortally.

"I must condemn the course of several of the city papers for supporting, by their articles, the bitter feeling of bad men. As to the merciless manner in which the Convention was broken up, I feel obliged to confess strong repugnance.

"It is useless to attempt to disguise the hostility that exists on the part of a great many here toward Northern men. This unfortunate affair has so precipitated matters that it is a test of what shall be the status of Northern men—whether they can live here without being in constant dread or not; whether they can be protected in life and property, and have justice in the courts. If this matter is permitted to pass over without a thorough and determined prosecution of those engaged in it, we may look out for frequent scenes of the same kind, not only here, but in other places.

"No steps have as yet been taken by the civil authorities to arrest the citizens who were engaged in the massacre, or policemen who perpetrated such cruelties. The members of the Convention have been indicted by the grand jury, and many of them arrested and held to bail. As to whether the civil authorities can mete out ample justice to the guilty parties, on both sides, I must say it is my opinion, unequivocally, they cannot. Judge Abel, whose course I have closely watched for nearly a year. I now consider one of the most dangerous men that we have here to the peace and quiet of the city. The leading men of the convention, King Cutler, Hahn and others, have been political agitators, and are bad men.

"I regret to say that the course of Governor Wells has been vacillating, and that during the late trouble he has shown very little of the man.

(Signed) "P. H. SHERIDAN,
"Major General Commanding."

The two last despatches quoted above, bring us to the crowning act of baseness on the part of Andrew Johnson. Union men peaceably assembling in convention having been murdered by the rebels of New Orleans—those murders not only having been *permitted* by the President, but the army having been directed to aid the assassins; the testimony furnished by General Sheridan's despatch of August 3d, placing the responsibility where it properly belonged, declaring that, the more information was obtained of the affair, the more revolting it became, that it was no riot, but was an absolute massacre by the police which was not exceeded in murderous cruelty by that of Fort Pillow, that it was a murder perpetrated by the Mayor and police of the city without a shadow of necessity, premeditated and prearranged; it became necessary that the chief malefactor should relieve himself of this weight of evidence against him, and that new evidence should

be manufactured to his purpose. Accordingly, on the 4th day of August, the day after Sheridan had telegraphed Grant, Andrew Johnson forwarded to General Sheridan a series of leading questions, indicating the nature and kind of answers which he desired, amounting to all intents and purposes, to an *order* to Sheridan that they be answered in the manner indicated. He said first:

"We have been apprised here that prior to the assembling of the illegal and unauthorized Convention elected in 1864, inflammatory, insurrectionary speeches were made to a mob composed of white and colored persons, urging on them to arm and equip themselves for protecting and sustaining the Convention in its illegal and unauthorized proceedings."

Who apprised Andrew Johnson of these facts? The rebels Herron and Voorhees. Who authorized Andrew Johnson to declare that the Convention was illegal and unauthorized and to stigmatize its members as a mob? The rebels Voorhees and Herron. This was Andrew Johnson's authority, and upon it he acted. After laying down this platform, he proceeded to interrogate General Sheridan in this fashion: "Did the mob assemble, and was it raised f r the purpose of assisting the Convention in its *usurpation*." General Sheridan had already sufficiently given his views of the Convention and its friends. Neither of them were a mob in his estimation, but his superior declared by the wording of his interrogatories that the friends of the Convention were a mob, and that the Convention itself contemplated usurpation. He said by plain implication, "I order you to answer accordingly." He proceeds, and there is an impudence of manner and a base criminality and savagery in the question almost incredible, "*Have various individuals been shot and killed by* THIS MOB without good cause, and in violation of the public peace and good order?" The mob to which he refers was the Convention and its friends. The individuals were the police and city authorities whom Sheridan had denounced as murderers. But General Sheridan must change his views and answer the question, not according to the facts, but in harmony with the wishes of his superior. Observe, that no information is asked, whether Union men had been unnecessarily slaughtered. To these facts, to the existence of which abundant evidence was before him, he paid no heed, and concerning them he had no care, but his anxiety was to protect the murderers whom his own hands had armed, and to hide the murders that his own orders had instigated, He asks also whether steps had been taken by the civil authorities, whom Sheridan the day before had stigmatized as murderers, to arrest and try all those engaged in this riot, which Sheridan had already advised him was not a riot but a massacre. In other words, he desires to know of General Sheridan whether the murderers had succeeded in arresting all those whom they had not succeeded in killing! The putting of questions framed as these are, would not be permitted in any court of justice in Christendom, and none but an impudent shyster would make the attempt. But when the questioner not only indicates the answer which he desires, but is the superior, having authority to punish the witness, there is an infamy in the attempt, worse than mere suborn ation of perjury, and which, if practiced in a court of justice, would commit the offender to the penitentiary. Endeavoring thus to distort the facts and belie history, and being baffled in the attempt, he suppressed the despatch of General Sheridan, and awaited an answer to his own. The nation has reason to be thankful that in General Sheridan the apostate had no weak-kneed, lily-livered postmaster to deal with. General Sheridan had fought treason before, and he knew how to deal with it. Instead of answering the President's questions in the terms indicated by the latter, he proceeded to give a plain, unvarnished narrative of the whole tragedy, putting the guilt upon the head of the mayor, and inferentially upon that of Andrew Johnson himself, who had pardoned this notorious villain, so that he might assume the duties of the office.

Andrew Johnson's Speech at Cleveland.

Andrew Johnson has recently made a pilgrimage to the tomb of Stephen A. Douglas, on an invitation to assist in laying the corner-stone of the Douglas Monument. He converted this solemn journey into a disgraceful political wake. He commenced making speeches in behalf of "my policy," on the first day, and continued to do so until he arrived in Chicago. One of the most remarkable of these speeches was delivered at Cleveland on Monday evening, September 3d. The following is a verbatim report of the speech:

"FELLOW-CITIZENS: We are on our way to Chicago, to participate in, or witness the laying of the corner-stone of a monument to the memory of a distinguished fellow-citizen who is now no more. It is not necessary for me to mention the name of Stephen A. Douglas to the people of Ohio. I am free to say that I am flattered by the demonstrations I have witnessed, and being flattered, I don't mean to think it personal, but as an evidence of what is pervading the public mind, and this demonstration is nothing more nor less than an indication of the latent sentiment or feeling of the great masses of the people with regard to this great question. I come before you as an American citizen simply, and not as Chief Magistrate, clothed in the insignia and paraphernalia of State—being an inhabitant of a State of this Union. I know that it has been said that I was an alien; [laughter,] and that I did not reside in one of the States of the Union, and therefore I could not be the Chief Magistrate, though the Constitution declares that I must be a citizen to occupy that office. Therefore all that was necessary to depose its occupant was to declare the office vacant, or under a pretext to prefer the articles of impeachment. And thus the individual who occupies the Chief Magistracy was to be disposed of and driven from power. There was, two years ago, a ticket before you for the Presidency. I was placed upon that ticket with a distinguished citizen, now no more. [Voices—"It's a pity;"

"Too bad;" "Unfortunate."] Yes, I know there are some who say "unfortunate." Yes, unfortunate for some that God rules on high and deals in justice. [Cheers.] Yes, unfortunate! The ways of Providence are mysteriour and incomprehensible, controlling all those who exclaim "unfortunate." [Bully for you.] I was going to say, my countrymen, a short time since I was elected and placed upon the ticket. There was a platform proclaimed and adopted by those who placed me upon it. Notwithstanding a mendacious press; notwithstanding a subsidized gang of hirelings who have not ceased to traduce me, I have discharged all my official duties, and fulfilled all my pledges. And I say here to-night that if my predecessor had lived, the vials of wrath would have poured out upon him. [Cries of "Never!" "Never!" and three cheers for the Congress of the United States.] I came here as I was passing along, and having been called upon for the purpose of exchanging views, and ascertaining, if we could, who was wrong. [Cries, "You are!"] That was my object in appearing before you to-night. I want to say that I have lived among the American people, and have represented them in some public capacity for the last twenty-five years. Where is the man or woman who can place his finger upon one single act of mine, deviating from any pledges of mine or in violation of the Constitution of the country. [Cries of "New Orleans!"] Who is he?—what language does he speak?—what religion does he profess—that can come and place his finger upon one pledge I ever violated, or one principle I ever proved false to? [Voice, "New Orleans!" Another, "Why don't you hang Jeff. Davis?"] Hang Jeff. Davis? [Shouts and cries of "Down with him!"] Hang Jeff. Davis? [Voice, "Hang Wendell Phillips!"] Why don't *you* hang him? [Cries of "Give us an opportunity!"] Haven't you got the court? Haven't you got the Attorney General? Who is your Chief Justice? Who has refused to sit on his trial? [Groans and cheers.] *I* am not the Chief Justice! I am not the Attorney General! I am no jury! But I'll tell you what I did do. I called upon your Congress, that is trying to break up the Government. [Hisses, and cries of "A lie!" Great confusian. Voice, "Don't get mad!"] I am not mad. [Hisses.] I will tell you who is mad. "Whom the Gods want to destroy they first make mad." Did your Congress order any of them to be tried? [Three cheers for Congress.] Then, fellow-citizens, we might as well allay our passion and premit reason to resume her empire and prevail. In presenting the few remarks that I designed to make, my intention was to address myself to your common sense, your judgment, your better feelings, not to the passion and malignancy of your hearts. [Voice, "How about Moses?"] This was my object in presenting myself on this occasion, and to say "how dye" and "good bye." In the assembly here to-night, the remark has been made "traitor!" "Traitor," my countrymen? Will yon hear me? [Cries, "Yes!"] And will you hear me for my cause and for the Constitution of my country? ["Yes? Yes! Go on!"] I want to know when, or where, or under what circumstances Andrew Johnson, not as Executive, but in any capacity, ever deserted any principle, or violated the Constitution of this country. Let me ask this large and intelligent audience if your Secretary of State, who served four years under Mr. Lincoln, and who was placed upon the butcher's block, as it were, and hacked and gashed all to pieces, scarred by the assassin's knife—when he turned traitor? If I were disposed to play the actor, and deal in declamation, even to-night I would imitate one of the ancient tragedies, and would take Mr. Seward, bring him before you, and point to the hacks and scars upon his person. I would exhibit the bloody garments, saturated with gore from his gaping wounds. Then I would ask yon who is the traitor! [Voice, "Thad. Stevens!"] Why don't you hang Thad. Stevens and Wendell Phillips? [Hisses.] I have been fighting traitors in the South. They have been whipped and crushed. They acknowledge their defeat and accept the terms of the Constitution. And now, as I go round the circle, having fought traitors at the South, I am prepared to fight them at the North, God being willing, with your help. [Cries, "We won't give it."] They will be crushed North, and this glorious Union of ours will be preserved. I do not come here as the Chief Magistrate of twenty-five States out of thirty-six. I come here to-night with the flag of my country and the constellation of thirty-six stars untarnished. Are you for dividing this country? [Cries, "No!"] Then I am President, and President of the whole United States. [Cheers.] I will tell you another thing. I understand the discordant notes in this crowd to-night. He who is opposed to the restoration of the Government and the Union of the States is a greater traitor than Jeff. Davis or Wendell Phillips. I am against both of them. [Cries, "Give it to them!"] Some of you talk about traitors in the South, who have not courage to go away from your nomes to fight them. [Laughter and cheers.] The courageous men, Grant, Sherman, Farragut, and the long list of the distinguished sons of the Union, were in the field, and led on their gallant hosts to conquest and to victory, while you remained cowardly at home. [Applause, "Bully."] Now when these brave men have returned home, many of whom have left an arm or a leg or their blood upon many a battle-field, they found you at home, speculating and committing frauds upon the Government. [Laughter and cheers.] You pretend now to have great respect and sympathy for the poor brave man who has left an arm on the battle-fied. [Cries; "Is this dignified?"] I understand you. You may talk about the dignity of the President. [Cries, "How was it about making a speech on the 22d of February?"] I have been with you on the battle-fields of this country, (?) and I can tell you furthermore, to-night, who have to pay these brave men who shed their blood. You speculated, and now the great masses of the people have got to work it out. It is time that the great mass of the American people should understand what your designs are. [A voice, "What did General Butler say?"] What did General Butler say? [Hisses.] What did General Grant say? [cheers] and what does

General Grant say about General Butler? What does General Sherman say? [A voice, "What does Sheridan say! New Orleans! New Orleans!"] General Sheridan says that he is for the restoration of the Government that General Sheridan fought for. But fellow citizens, let this all pass. I care not for my dignity. There is a certain portion of our countrymen will respect a citizen wherever he is entitled to respect. There is another class that have no respect for themselves, and consequently they cannot respect anyone else. I know a man and a gentleman whenever I meet him. I have only to look in his face, and if I was to see yours by the light of day, I do not doubt but that I should see cowardice and treachery written upon it. Come out here where I can see you. If you ever shoot a man you will do it in the dark, and pull the trigger when no one is by to see. I understand traitors. I have been fighting them at the southern end of the line, and we are now fighting them in the other direction. As Chief Magistrate I felt, after taking the oath to support the Constitution, and when I saw encroachments upon your Constitutional rights, I dared to sound the tocsin of alarm. Then if this be right, the head and front of my offending is in telling when the Constitution of my country was trampled upon. Let me say to those who thirst for more blood, who are still willing to sacrifice human life, if you want a victim, and the country requires it, erect your altar and lay me upon it to pour the last libation to human freedom. [Loud cries of "Bah!"] I love my country. Every public act of my life testifies that it is so. ["No!" "No!"] Where is the man that can put his finger upon any one act of mine that goes to prove to the contrary? And what is my offending? [Cries of "Veto!"] Somebody says veto. Veto of what? What is called the Freedmen's Bureau Bill? I can tell you what it is. Before the rebellion commenced there were four millions of slaves and about eight millions white people living in the South. These latter paid expenses, bought the lands and cultivated them, and after the crops were gathered, pocketed the profits. That's the way the thing stood up to the rebellion. The rebellion commenced, the slaves were liberated, and then came the Freedmen's Bureau Bill. [Cries, "You opposed emancipation."] This provides for the appointment of agents and sub-agents in all States, counties and school districts, who have power to make contracts for the freedmen, and to hire them out, and to use the military power to carry them into execution. The cost of this to the people was twelve millions of dollars at the beginning. The further expense would be greater (not true), and you are to be taxed for it. That is why I vetoed it. I might refer to the Civil Rights bill, which is even more atrocious. [Groans and hisses.] I tell you, my countrymen, that though the powers of hell and Thad. Stevens and his gang were by, they could not turn me from my purpose. There is no power that could turn me except the God who spoke me into existence.

"In conclusion, he said that Congress had taken much pains to poison their constituents against him. But what had Congress done? Have they done anything to restore the Union of these States? No, on the contrary, they had done everything to prevent it; and, because he stood now where he did before the rebellion commenced, he had been denounced as a traitor. Who had run greater risks or made greater sacrifices than himself? [Cries, "What sacrifices did you make?"] But Congress, factions and domineering, had taken to poisoning the minds of the American people. It was with them a question of power. Every friend of theirs who holds an office as assessor, collector or postmaster, [A Voice—"Turn Benedict out!"] wanted to retain his place. Rotation in office used to be thought a good doctrine by Washington, Jefferson and Adams; and Andrew Jackson, God bless him, thought so. [Cries—You are turning out Republicans and putting in Copperheads.] This gang of office-holders—these blood-suckers and cormorants—had got fat on the country. You have got them over your district. Hence you see a system of legislation proposed that these men shall not be turned out; and the President, the only channel through which they can be reached, is called a Tyrant. He thought the time had come when those who had enjoyed fat offices for four years should give way for those who had fought for the country. Hence it was seen why he was assailed and traduced. He had stood by them in the field [what field?] and, God willing, he would continue to stand by them. While referring to the question of suffrage, some one in the crowd asked him "How about Louisiana?" To which he responded, "Let the negroes vote in Ohio before you talk about their voting in Louisiana." [Laughter, and cries of 'Most of them can and do.'] Take the beam out of your own eye before you see the mote in your brothers. [Renewed laughter.] In conclusion, after some further remarks, he invoked God's blessing on his hearers. [Laughter.]

Resolutions of the Grand Army of the Republic at Springfield, Illinois, on Andrew Johnson.

SPRINGFIELD, Ill., August 26, 1866.

At the regular weekly meeting of the Springfield Post of the Grand Army of the Republic, held in their hall this evening, the following preamble and resolutions were unanimously adopted:

WHEREAS, The President of the United States did, in obedience to the express wish of Congress, on a recent occasion, announce it as a part of the Executive "policy," that the soldiers of the Union should be appointed to places of honor and trust under the Government, and that thus treason should be made "odious," and rebels and traitors made to take "back seats," &c., a policy which was then heartily endorsed by every soldier of the Union army; and

WHEREAS Notwithstanding this announcement, many good Union office holders against whose ability and integrity no accusation had been brought, have been removed from such offices, and, in numerous in-

stances, persons appointed thereto whose sympathy with rebels and traitors during, and since the rebellion, has been undisguised and notorious, while the faithful Union soldiers have been studiously neglected, overlooked and ignored: and

WHEREAS, It has come to the knowledge of this post of the G. A. R. that one Edward L. Merritt, formerly editor of a notorious rebel-sympathising sheet in Southern Illinois, now editor and proprietor of a daily newspaper published in the city of Springfield, of known and undisguised rebel principles, has been appointed by the President of the United States, Pension Agent of the pension district of this State, a position of large emolument and great trust, and one which relates exclusively to the soldiers, and for which several honorably discharged and competent veterans had made application; and

WHERAS, The said Merritt in said newspapers did, both openly and covertly, *advocate desertion from the ranks of the Union army, and resistance to the lawful "draft" for the recruiting of the depleted ranks of the same*, and did also in said newspapers traitorously, villainously and persistently slander, malign and traduce the soldiers of the Republic as "vandals," "mercenaries," "Lincoln hirelings," "Sherman bummers," "thieves," "murderer," indendiaries," whose motto was "beauty and booty," and did heap upon their heads every vile and opprobrious epithet that could be conceived or imagined by his traitorous and malignant brain and so thoroughly and notoriously was he in sympathy with the insurgents, that he never failed to manifest the most jubilant feelings over rebel victories and to disparage, sneer at and mourn over the success of the Union arms; all of which can be abundantly established by a reference to the files of said newspapers, edited and published be the said Merritt, and, to which the members of this Post have access; Now, therefore be it

Resolved, That in this appointment the President of the United States has not only falsified his own avowed policy, and set at naught the express will of Congress, but has openly and wantonly insulted and outraged the feelings and sense of honor and self-respect of the Union soldiers of said pension district, and at the same time done despite to the memory of our martyred comrades.

Resolved, That in this appointment we see treason made not "odious" but respectable, and traitors advanced to front "seats," while loyalty to the flag of our country is made "odious," and to have born arms in its defence is thus made cause for proscription.

Resolved, That we call upon our fellow-soldiers all over the State of Illinois to resent this base insult to us, and to the widows and orphaned children of our fallen comrades, no one of whom in this District can receive a fraction of the provision made for them by the Government, except as it passes through the hands of the vile traducer and slanderer of the noble dead, whose memory is still fresh among us, and who have bequeathed to us the guardianship of their honor, and the proud remembrance of their gallant deeds.

Resolved, That the Adjutant of this Post be, and he is hereby instructed to communicate with every Post and District of this organization in the counties embraced in this Pension District, with a view to the adoption of such measures as shall secure a united expression of sentiment upon the subject of the foregoing resolutions.

Address of the Southern Loyalists' Convention to the People of the United States.

The Representatives of 8,000,000 of American citizens appeal for protection and justice to their friends and brothers in the States that have been spared the cruelties of the Rebellion and the direct horrors of civil war. Here, on the spot where Freedom was proffered and pledged by the Fathers of the Republic, we implore your help against a reorganized oppression, whose sole object is to remit the control of our destinies to the contrivers of the Rebellion after they have been vanquished in honorable battle; thus at once to punish us for our devotion to our country and to entrench themselves in the official fortifications of the Government.

Others have related the thrilling story of our wrongs from reading and observation. We come before you as unchallenged witnesses, and speak from personal knowledge our sad experience. If you fail us, we are more utterly deserted and betrayed than if the contest had been decided against us; for in that case even victorious Slavery would have found profit in the speedy pardon of those who had been among its bravest foes. Unexpected perfidy in the highest place in the Government, accidentally filled by one who adds cruelty to ingratitude, and forgives the guilty as he proscribes the innocent, has stimulated the almost extinguished revenge of the beaten conspirators, and now the rebels, who offered to yield everything to save their own lives, are seeking to consign us to bloody graves. Where we expected a benefactor we find a persecutor.

Having lost our champion, we return to you, who can make Presidents and punish traitors. Our last hope, under God, is in the unity and firmness of the States that elected Abraham Lincoln and defeated Jefferson Davis. The best statement of our case is the appalling yet unconscious confession of Andrew Johnson, who, in savage hatred of his own record, proclaims his purpose to clothe four millions of traitors with the power to impoverish and degrade eight millions of loyal men.

Our wrongs bear alike on all races, and our tyrants, unchecked by you, will award the same fate to white and black. We can remain as we are only as inferiors and victims. We may fly from our homes, but we should fear to trust our fate with those who, after denouncing and defeating treason, refuse to right those who have bravely assisted them in the good work. Till we are wholly rescued there is neither peace for you nor prosperity for us.

We cannot better define at once our wrongs and our wants than by declaring that since Andrew Johnson affiliated with his early slanderers and our constant enemies, his hand has been laid heavily upon every earnest loyalist in the South. History, the just judgment of the present, and the certain

confirmation of the future, invite and command us to declare:

That after rejecting his own remedies for restoring the Union, he has resorted to the weapons of traitors to bruise and beat down patriots;

That after declaring that none but the loyal should govern the reconstructed South, he has practiced upon the maxim that none but traitors shall rule;

That while in the North he has removed conscientious men from office, and filled many of the vacancies with the sympathizers of treason, in the South he has removed the proved and trusted patriot and selected the equally proved and convicted traitor;

That after brave men, who had fought for the old flag, have been nominated for positions, their names have been recalled and avowed rebels substituted;

That every original Unionist in the South who stands fast to Andrew Johnson's covenants from 1861 to 1865, has been ostracised;

That he has corrupted the local Courts by offering premiums for defiance of the laws of Congress, and by openly discouraging the observance of the oath against treason;

That while refusing to punish one single conspicuous traitor, though thousands had earned the penalty of death, more than a thousand of devoted Union citizens have been murdered in cold blood since the surrender of Lee, and in no case have their assassins been brought to judgment;

That he has pardoned some of the worst of the rebel criminals North and South, including some who have taken human life under circumstances of unparalleled atrocity;

That while denouncing and fettering the operations of the Freedmen's Bureau, he, with a full knowledge of the falsehood, has charged that the black men are lazy and rebellious, and concealed the fact that more whites than blacks have been protected and fed by that noble organization, and that, while declaring that it was corruptly managed and expensive to the Government, he has connived at a system of profligacy in the use of the public patronage and public money wholly without parallel save when the traitors bankrupted the Treasury, and sought to disorganize and scatter the army and the navy only to make it more easy to capture and destroy the Government;

That while declaring against the injustice of leaving eleven States unrepresented, he has refused to authorize the liberal plan of Congress, simply because it recognizes the loyal majority and refuses to perpetuate the traitor minority;

That in every State south of Mason and Dixon's line his "policy" has wrought the most deplorable consequences—social, moral and political. It has emboldened returned rebels to threaten civil war in Maryland, Missouri, West Virginia and Tennessee unless the patriots who saved and sealed these States to the old flag surrendered before their arrogant demands. It has corrupted high State officials, elected by Union men, and sworn to enforce the laws against returned rebels, and made them the mere instruments of the authors of the rebellion. It has encouraged a new alienation between the sections, and by impeding immigration to the South has erected a formidable barrier against free and friendly intercourse with the North and West. It has allowed the rebel soldiery to persecute the teachers of the colored schools, and to burn the churches in which the freedmen have worshipped the living God. That a system so barbarous should have culminated in the frightful riot at Memphis, and the still more appalling massacre at New Orleans was as natural as that a bloody war should flow from the teachings of John C. Calhoun and Jefferson Davis. Andrew Johnson is responsible for all these unspeakable cruelties, and as he provoked so he justifies and applauds them. Sending his agents and emissaries into this refined and patriotic metropolis, to insist upon making his reckless policy a test upon a Christian people, he forgot that the protection extended to the 14th of August Convention in Philadelphia was not only denied to the free people of New Orleans on the 30th of July, when they assembled to discuss how best to protect themselves, but denied amid the slaughter of hundreds of innocent men. No page in the record of his recent outrages upon human justice and constitutional law is more revolting than that which convicts him of refusing to arrest the preparations for that savage carnival, and not only of refusing to punish its authors, but of toiling to throw the guilty responsibility upon unoffending and innocent freedmen. The infatuated tyrant that stood ready to crush his own people, in Tennessee, when they were struggling to maintain a Government, erected by himself, against his and their traitor persecutions, was even more eager to illustrate his savage policy, by clothing with the most despotic power the rebels of New Orleans. Notwithstanding this heartless desertion and cruel persecution by Andrew Johnson, in the States of Missouri, Kentucky, Tennessee, Western Virginia, Maryland, and Delaware, Democratic Republican principles—principles which the fathers of the Republic designed for all America—are now making determined battle with the enemies of free Constitutional Government, and, by the blessing of God, these States will soon range themselves in line with the former free States, and illustrate the wisdom and beneficence of the great Charter of American Liberty by their increasing population, wealth, and prosperity. In the remaining States, the seeds of oligarchy, planted in the Constitution by its slavery features, have grown to be a monstrous power. Recognition thus wrung from the reluctant framers of that great instrument, enabled these States to entrench themselves behind the perverted doctrine of State rights, and sheltered by the claim of Constitutional obligation to maintain slavery in the States, presented to the American Government the alternative of oligarchy with slavery or Democratic Republican Government without slavery. A forbearing Government, bowing to a supposed constitutional behest, acquiesced in the former alternative. The hand of the Government was stayed for eighty years. The principles of constitutional liberty languished for want of Government support. Oligarchy matured its power with subtle design. Its history for eighty years is replete with unparalleled injuries and usurpations; it developed

only the agricultural localities, geographically distinct from the free-labor localities, and less than one-third of the whole, with African slaves. It held 4,000,000 of human beings as chattels, yet made them the basis of unjust power for themselves in Federal and State Governments, to maintain their enslavement. It excluded millions of free white laborers from the richest agricultural lands of the world, forced them to remain inactive and unproductive on the mineral, manufacturing and lumber localities, comprising two-thirds of the whole South in square miles and real undeveloped wealth, simply because these localities were agriculturally too poor for slave labor. Condemned them to agriculture on unagricultural territory, and consigned them to unwilling ignorance and poverty by denying capital and strangling enterprise. It repelled the capital, energy, will and skill of the free States from the free-labor localities, by unmitigated intolerance and proscription—thus guarding the approaches to their slave domain against democracy. Statute books groaned under despotic laws against unlawful and insurrectionary assemblies, aimed at the Constitutional guaranties of the right to peaceably assemble and petition for a redress of grievances. It proscribed democratic literature as incendiary, nullified constitutional guaranties of freedom and free speech and a free press. It deprived citizens of the other States of the privileges and immunities in these States—an injury and usurpation, alike unjust to Northern citizens and destructive of the best interests of the States themselves. Alarmed at the progress of democracy in the face of every discouragement, at last it sought immunity by secession and war. The heart sickens with contemplation of the four years that followed; forced loans, impressments, conscriptions with bloodhounds and bayonets; the murder of aged Union men who had long laid aside the implements of labor, but had been summoned anew to the field by the conscription of their sons to support their children and grandchildren reduced from comfort to the verge of starvation; the slaughter of noble youths; types of physical manhood forced into an unholy war against those with whom they were identified by every interest; long months of incarceration in rebel bastiles; banishment from homes and hearthstones, are but a partial recital of the long catalogue of horrors. But democracy North and South combined defeated them. They lost. What did they lose? The cause of oligarchy? They lost African slavery by name only. Soon as the tocsin of war ceased, soon as the clang of arms was hushed, they raise the cry of immediate admission, and with that watchword seek to organize under new forms a contest to perpetuate their unbridled sway. They rehabilitate their sweeping control of all local and State organizations. The Federal Executive, easily seduced, yields a willing obedience to his old masters; aided by his unscrupulous disregard of Constitution and laws, by his merciless proscription of true democratic opinion, and by all his appliances of despotic power, they now defiantly enter the lists in the loyal North, and seek to wring from freemen an endorsement of their wicked designs. Every foul agency is at work to accomplish this result. Falsely professing to assent to the abolition of slavery, they are contriving to continue its detestable power by legislative acts against pretended vagrants; they know that any form of servitude will answer their unholy purpose. They pronounce the four years war a brilliant sword scene in the great revolutionary drama. Proscriptive public sentiment holds high carnival, and, profiting by the example of the Presidential pilgrim, breathes out threatenings of slaughter against loyalty, ignores and denounces all legal restraints, and assails with the tongue of malignant slander, the constitutionally chosen representatives of the people. To still the voice of Liberty, dangerous alone to tyrants, midnight conflagrations, assassinations and murders in open day are called to their aid; a reign of terror through all these ten States makes loyalty stand silent in the presence of treason, or whisper in bated breath. Strong men hesitate openly to speak for liberty, and decline to attend a Convention at Philadelphia for fear of destruction. But all Southern men are not yet awed into submission to treason, and we have assembled from all these States, determined that liberty, when endangered, shall find a mouth-piece, and that the Government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth. We are here to consult together how best to provide for a union of truly Republican States, to seek to relume thirty-six stars on the old flag. We are here to see that ten of these stars are not opaque bodies, and do not continue paling their ineffectual fires beneath the gloom of darkness, of oligarchical tyrrany and oppression. We wish them to be brilliant stars, emblems of constitutional liberty, glittering orbs sparkling with the life-giving principles of the model Republic, fitting adornments of the glorious banner of freedom. Our last and only hope is in the unity and fortitude of the loyal people of America in the support and vindication of the Thirty-Ninth Congress and the election of a controlling Union majority in the succeeding Fortieth Congress. While the new article amending the National Constitution offers the most liberal conditions to the authors of the rebellion, and does not come up to the measure of our expections, we believe its ratification would be the commencement of a complete and lasting protection to all our people; and, therefore, we accept it as the best present remedy, and appeal to our brothers and friends in the North and the West to make it their watchword in the coming elections. The tokens are auspicious of overwhelming success. However little the verdict of the ballot-box may affect the reckless man in the Presidential chair, we cannot doubt that the traitors and sympathizers will recognize that verdict as the surest indication that the mighty power which crushed the rebellion is still alive, and that those who attempt to oppose or defy it will do so at the risk of their own destruction. Our confidence in the overruling providence of God prompts the prediction and intensifies the

belief that when this warning is sufficiently taught to these misguided and reckless men, the liberated millions of the rebellious South will be proffered those rights and franchises which may be necessary to adjust and settle this mighty controversy in the spirit of the most enlarged and Christian philanthropy.

GEORGE W. PASCHAL, of Texas, Ch'n.
R. O. SIDNEY, of Mississippi.
JOHN H. ATKINSON, of West Virginia.
JOHN A. ALLDERDICE, of Delaware.
A. W. HAWKINS, of Tennessee.
SAMUEL KNOX, of Missouri.
WRIGHT R. FISH, of Louisiana.
MILTON J. SAFFOLD, of Alabama.
PHILIP FRASER, of Florida.
D. R. GOODLOE, of North Carolina.
D. C. FORNEY, of District of Columbia.
JOHN A. J. CRESSWELL, of Maryland.
G. W. ASHBURN, of Georgia.

Andrew Johnson's Record Prior to the Assembling of the Thirty-ninth Congress —Extracts from His Speeches and Letters.

HIS VIEWS IN 1861—HE WOULD HANG TRAITORS.

Who is it that has been engaged in conspiracies? Who is it that has been engaged in making war upon the United States? Who is it that has fired upon our flag? Who is it that has given instructions to take your arsenals, forts, to take your dock-yards, to seize your custom-houses and rob your treasuries? Who is it that has been engaged in secret conclaves, and issuing orders for the seizure of public property in violation of the Constitution they were sworn to support? Show me the man who has been engaged in these conspiracies; show me who has been sitting in nightly and secret conclaves, plotting the overthrow of the Government; show me who has fired upon our flag, has given instructions to take our ports and our custom houses, our arsenals and our dock yards, and I will show you a traitor. * * * * *

My proposition was that if they would should me who were guilty of the offenees I have enumerated, I would show them who were the traitors. This being done, were I the President of the United States, I would do as Thomas Jefferson did in 1806, with Aaron Burr, who was charged with treason. I would have them arrested and tried for treason, and, if convicted, *by the eternal God they should suffer the penalty of the law at the hands of the executioner*. Sir, treason must be punished. Its enormity and the extent and depth of the offence must be made known.—*Andrew Johnson's speech in the Senate, March 2d*, 1861.

HE WOULD BE THE MOSES OF THE COLORED RACE—LOYAL MEN, WHETHER WHITE OR BLACK, ALONE TO RULE THE SOUTH.

Standing here upon the steps of the Capitol, with the past history of the State to witness, the present condition to guide, and the future to encourage me, I, Andrew Johnson, do hereby proclaim freedom, full, broad and unconditional, to every man in Tennessee. * * * * I will indeed be your Moses, and lead you through the Red Sea of war and bondage to the fairer land of liberty and peace. I speak now as one who feels the world his country, and all who love equal rights his friends. I speak, too, as a citizen of Tennessee. I am here on my own soil; and here I mean to stay and fight this great battle of truth and justice, to a triumphant end. Rebellion and slavery shall, by God's good help, no longer pollute our State. Loyal men, whether white or black, shall alone control her destinies.—*Speech to the colored men of Nashville, October 24*, 1864.

HE SAYS THAT TREASON MUST BE MADE ODIOUS.

In my opinion, evil-doers should should be punished. Treason is the highest crime known in the catalogue of crimes, and for him that is guilty of it—for him that is willsng to lift his impious hand against the authority of the Nation—I would say death is too easy a punishment. My notion is that treason must be made odious and traitors must be punished and impoverished, their social power broken that they may be made to feel the penalty of their crime. You, my friends, have traitors in your very midst, and treason needs rebuke and punishment here as well as elsewhere. * * * * Hence I say this: The halter to intelligent, influential traitors! The leaders I would hang. I hold, too, that wealthy traitors should be made to remunerate those men who have suffered as a consequence of their crimes, Union men who have lost their property, who have been driven from their homes, beggars and wanderers among strangers. Let us commence the work. We have put down these traitors in arms, let us put them down in law, in public judgment and in the morals of the world. —*Speech in Washington, April 3*, 1865.

HE SAYS THAT THE PENALTY OF TREASON MUST BE PAID.

The time has come when the people should be taught to understand the length and breadth, the height and depth of treason * * * Treason is a crime, not a mere political difference, not a mere contest between two parties, in which one succeeded and the other has simply failed. If they had succeeded, the life of the nation would have been reft from it—the Union would have been destroyed. Surely the Constitution sufficiently defines treason. It consists in levying war against the United States, and in giving their enemies aid and comfort. With this definition it requires the exercise of no great acumen to ascertain who are traitors. It requires no great perception to ascertain who have levied war against the United States; nor does it require any great stretch of reasoning to ascertain who has given aid to the enemies of the United States; and when the Government of the United States does ascertain who are the conscious and intelligent traitors, the penalty and forfeit should be paid.—*Address to Loyal Southerners, April*, 1865.

HE SAYS THAT TRAITORS MUST TAKE BACK SEATS.

In the work of reconstruction, traitors must take back seats. * * * * I say that the traitor has ceased to be a citizen, and in joining the rebellion has become a public enemy. He forfeited his right to

vote with loyal men when he renounced his citizenship, and threatened to destroy our Government.—*Speech at Nashville, June 9th*, 1864.

HE ADVOCATES NEGRO SUFFRAGE.

EXECUTIVE OFFICE,
WASHINGTON, D. C., August 15, 1865.

Governor W. L. Sharkey, Jackson, Miss.;

I am gratified to see that you have organized your Convention without difficulty. I hope that without delay your Convention will amend your State Constitution, abolishing slavery and denying to all future Legislatures the power to legislate that there is property in man; also that they will adopt the amendment to the Constitution of the United States abolishing slavery. If you could extend the elective franchise to all persons of color who can read the Constitution of the United States in English and write their names, and to all persons of color who own real estate valued at not less than two hundred and fifty dollars, and pay taxes thereon, you would completely dismay the adversary, and set an example the other States will follow. This you can do with perfect safety; and you thus place the Southern States in reference to free persons of color, upon the same basis with the free States. I hope and trust your Convention will do this, and, as a consequence, the Radicals, who are wild on negro franchise, will be completely foiled in their attempt to keep the Southern States from renewing their relations with the Union, by not accepting their Senators and Representatives.

ANDREW JOHNSON,
President of the United States.

HE SAYS THAT THE REBELLION DEPRIVED THE SOUTHERN PEOPLE OF ALL CIVIL GOVERNMENT.

In his several proclamations appointing Provisional Governors in the Southern States Mr. Johnson affirmed that all civil government had been overthrown. He now assumes that civil governments have been re-established by his breath; and the issue between him and Congress is, first, whether *he* is competent to build up ten State Governments, which, according to his official declaration, had been overthrown; and, second, whether the mode which he has adopted is fit to receive the sanction of the loyal American people. The following is the preamble to his proclamation reorganizing the State of North Carolina, which is identical in language with those subsequently issued for the other seceding States:

"WHEREAS, The fourth section of the fourth article of the Constitution of the United States declares that the United States shall guarantee to every State in the Union a republican form of Government, and shall protect each of them against invasion and domestic violence; and whereas the President of the United States is, by the Constitution, made commander-in-chief of the army and navy, as well as chief civil executive officer of the United States, and is bound by solemn oath faithfully to execute the office of President of the United States, and to take care that the laws be faithfully executed; and whereas the rebellion, which has been waged by a portion of the people of the United States against the properly constituted authorities of the Government thereof, in the most violent and revolting form, but whose organized and armed forces have now been almost entirely overcome, has, in its revolutionary progress, *deprived the people of the State of North Carolina of all civil government;* and whereas it becomes necessary and proper to carry out and enforce the obligations of the United States to the people of North Carolina, in securing them in the enjoyment of a republican form of government:

"Now, therefore," etc.

HE COERCES THE SOUTHERN STATES TO RATIFY THE CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT ABOLISHING SLAVERY.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, November 1, 1865.

His Excellency William Marvin, Provisional Governor of Florida:

Your letter of October 7 was received and submitted to the President. He is gratified with the favorable progress towards reorganization in Florida, and *directs me to say* that he regards the ratification by the Legislature of the Congressional Amendment of the Constitution of the United States as *indispensable to a successful restoration of the true legal relations between Florida and the other States*, and equally indispensable to the return of peace and harmony throughout the Republic. WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

THE RESTORATION OF THE SOUTH TO BE SUBJECT TO THE DECISION OF CONGRESS.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, September 12, 1865.

SIR:—Your excellency's letter of the 29th ultimo, with the accompanying proclamation, has been received and submitted to the President. The steps to which it refers, towards reorganizing the government of Florida, seem to be in the main judicious, and good results from them may be hoped for. The presumption to which the proclamation refers, however, in favor of insurgents who may wish to vote, and who may have applied for, but not received, their pardons, is not entirely approved. All applications for pardons will be duly considered, and will be disposed of as soon as may be practicable. *It must, however, be distinctly understood that the restoration to which your proclamation refers will be subject to the decision of Congress.*

I have the honor to be your excellency's obedient servant. WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

His Excellency WILLIAM MARVIN.

President Lincoln's Letters to Governor Hahn and General Wadsworth in Favor of Impartial Suffrage.

TO GOVERNOR HAHN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, March 13, 1864.

Honorable Michael Hahn:

MY DEAR SIR—I congratulate you on having fixed your name in history as the first free State Governor of Louisiana. Now you are about to have a Convention, which, among other things, will probably define the elective franchise. I barely suggest for your private consideration whether some of the colored people may not be let in, as, for in-

stance, the very intelligent, and especially those who have fought gallantly in the ranks. They would probably help, in some trying time to come, to keep the jewel of liberty in the family of freedom. But this is only a suggestion, not to the public, but to you alone. Truly yours, A. LINCOLN.

TO GENERAL WADSWORTH.

The following extract from a letter written by President Lincoln to General Wadsworth was first published in the columns of the *Southern Advocate* of September 18, 1865. Its authenticity has never been disputed:

"You desire to know, in the event of our complete success in the field, the same being followed by a loyal and cheerful submission on the part of the South, if universal amnesty should not be accompanied with universal suffrage. Now, since you know my private inclinations as to what terms should be granted to the South, in the contingency mentioned, I will here add that if our success should be thus realized, followed by such desired results, I cannot see, if universal amnesty is granted, how, under the circumstances, I can avoid exacting in return universal suffrage, or at least suffrage on the basis of intelligence and military service. How to better the condition of the colored race has long been a study which has attracted my serious and careful attention. Hence I think I am clear and decided as to what course I shall pursue in the premises, regarding it as a religious duty, as the nation's guardian of these people, who have so heroically vindicated their manhood on the battfield, where, in assisting to save the life of the Republic, they have demonstrated in blood their right to the ballot, which is but the humane protection of the flag they have so fearlessly defended."

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